

SECRET/EXDISSALT TWO
SESSION I
A-80MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION
U.S. SALT DELEGATION
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DATE: December 12, 1972
TIME: 11:45 a.m. to 12:45 p.m.
5:00 p.m. to 6:15 p.m.
SUBJECT: Work Program
Place: Soviet Mission, Geneva
US Mission, Geneva
PARTICIPANTS: US USSR

Dr. Raymond L. Garthoff

Mr. O. A. Grinevsky
Mr. V. S. Chulitsky

During the course of two meetings, continuing the series working out a compromise Work Program, all remaining differences were resolved except for the question of whether reference to a follow-on agreement in Point 1 of the Program should refer to "an agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive arms" in accordance with Articles VII and VIII of the Interim Agreement, or in a brief more general form, such as "an agreement limiting strategic offensive arms". I argued strongly for the longer version. Grinevsky argued for the shorter neutral one, noting that other differences were resolved by resorting to neutral generalized formulations. Grinevsky said that some members of his Delegation had been very reluctant to give up the Soviet preferred formulations relating to conversion of the Interim Agreement or simply to an agreement on more complete measures. They had, however, agreed to do so on the basis of comparable readiness on the American side to adopt a neutral formulation which would not be regarded on either side as prejudicing matters requiring further negotiation. His Delegation absolutely could not, however, go so far as to accept the US formulation, given the "excessive significance" which was now being ascribed "by people on both sides" to particular formulations concerning the Interim Agreement. Grinevsky said that agreement to the other points on the Work Program were all conditional on acceptance of the US Delegation of a neutral compromise formulation for Point 1. Otherwise, he thought the only alternative was to drop the attempt to develop a mutually acceptable Program of Work.

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During the course of the discussions, apart from various editorial changes from both sides, a "middle ground" compromise on Point 5 was worked out in the afternoon session. The compromise formulation on Point 5 reads: "Consideration of possible understandings regarding the exercise of restraint." In addition, the Soviet side finally reluctantly agreed to accept the US version of Point 3, dropping all reference to "new types of strategic offensive arms deployment of which would increase the threat of nuclear war."

The draft Program of Work as it emerged from the discussions on December 12, with the one remaining bracketed difference, is attached. (See Attachment A)

Agreement, on an ad referendum basis, was readily reached on a draft communique. (See Attachment B)

Attachments

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PROGRAM OF WORK FOR THE NEXT STAGE OF SALT NEGOTIATIONS

1. Consideration of the composition of strategic offensive arms to be included in an agreement on more complete measures limiting strategic offensive arms, in accordance with Articles VII and VIII of the Interim Agreement / limiting strategic offensive arms /.

2. Consideration of modes of limiting strategic offensive arms; of questions relating to substitution; and of reductions.

3. Consideration of other limitations on strategic offensive arms, including prohibition of certain types of strategic offensive arms.

4. Consideration of other measures related to the agreement limiting strategic offensive arms.

5. Consideration of possible understandings regarding the exercise of restraint.

In agreeing to discuss the questions listed above, neither side is thereby committed to the inclusion of any item in an agreement, either individually or in combination with others. In the subsequent negotiations, each side may raise matters related to the subject of the talks, whether or not listed in the program.

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The order of listing of items does not pre-determine the order of their discussion.

This Program of Work shall not be released for publication.

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COMMUNIQUE
On the Negotiations of the Delegations of
the US and the USSR
on Limiting Strategic Arms

The US-USSR negotiations on limiting strategic arms continued from November 21, 1972, to December 21, 1972, in Geneva.

The US Delegation was headed by the Director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Gerard Smith. Members of the Delegation Philip J. Farley, Paul Nitze, Harold Brown and Royal Allison participated in the negotiations.

The USSR Delegation was headed by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, V. S. Semenov. Members of the Delegation K. A. Trusov, P. S. Pleshakov, A. N. Shchukin, and O. A. Grinevsky participated in the negotiations.

The Delegations were accompanied by advisors and experts.

In accordance with the agreement reached in May, 1972, between the Governments of the US and the USSR to continue active negotiations for the limitation of strategic offensive arms, the Delegations engaged in further consideration of the issues relating to achieving an agreement limiting strategic offensive arms.

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During the course of these preliminary discussions a wide range of questions relating to this matter were considered. The discussion was useful for both sides in preparing for further negotiations next year. An understanding was reached on the general range of questions which will be the subject of further US - Soviet discussions.

During the negotiations, agreement was reached on a Memorandum of Understanding establishing a Standing Consultative Commission pursuant to Article XIII of the Treaty Between the US and the USSR on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems. The Memorandum of Understanding was signed today by the Heads of the two Delegations on behalf of their respective Governments.

The two sides express their appreciation to the Government of Switzerland for creating favorable conditions for holding the negotiations. They are grateful for the warm hospitality which was extended to them.

Agreement was reached that negotiations between the US Delegation and the USSR Delegation will be resumed on February 27, 1973, in Geneva.

December 21, 1972

Geneva

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